

## Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

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UNCLAS STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

FOR EAGLEBURGER FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS REPORTAGE: SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19,  
1976

NO. 23

NEWSPAPERS:

1. WASHINGTON POST, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1976

"SMITH-KISSINGER TO CONFER: DECISION TO SEE RHODESIAN IS  
CALCULATED RISK" (MARDER FROM PRETORIA) SEC STATE  
KISSINGER AND EMBATTLED RHODESIAN PM SMITH WILL MEET FOR  
THE FIRST TIME HERE SUNDAY MORNING TO ATTEMPT A DIPLO-  
MATIC BREAKTHROUGH IN THE RHODESIAN GUERRILLA WAR, IT WAS  
ANNOUNCED HERE AT MIDNIGHT.

KISSINGER'S DECISION TO TALK FACE-TO-FACE WITH SMITH,  
WHICH U.S. OFFICIALS ADMIT IS A MAJOR CALCULATED RISK,  
CAME AFTER AN EXTRAORDINARY DAY-AND-NIGHT ROUND OF BAR-  
GAINING IN WHICH SOUTH AFRICAN PM VORSTER WAS THE EXTREMELY  
INVOLVED MIDDLEMAN.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

THE KISSINGER-SMITH MEETING WILL BEGIN AT 9:30 A.M. SUNDAY  
IN THE RESIDENCE OF U.S. AMBASSADOR WILLIAM J.

BOWDLER, IT WAS ANNOUNCED BY DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY L.E.

EAGLEBURGER. HE DECLINED TO GIVE ANY FURTHER INFORMATION ON KISSINGER'S DECISION MADE AT THE CLOSE OF A WORKING DINNER MEETING WITH VORSTER IN THE AMERICAN RESIDENCE.

EARLIER TONIGHT, HOWEVER, AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID THAT SOME PROGRESS IS BEING MADE TO TRY TO DIVERT THE RACIAL CONFLICTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA (SOUTHWEST AFRICA) INTO DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS.

IN APRIL, KISSINGER PUBLICLY COMMITTED THE US TO "UN-RELENTING OPPOSITION" TO THE WHITE-MINORITY RHODESIAN REGIME HEADED BY SMITH. KISSINGER'S TASK NOW IS TO INDUCE SMITH, SOMEHOW TO BEND IN THE NEAR FUTURE TO THE MAJORITY RULE THAT RHODESIA'S GOVERNMENT HAS ADAMANTLY REJECTED FOR YEARS.

DURING INTERMITTENT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN KISSINGER AND VORSTER TODAY, WITH VORSTER MEETING SEPARATELY WITH SMITH, KISSINGER SOUGHT ENOUGH DIPLOMATIC MOVEMENT BY SMITH TO RISK A MEETING WITH HIM.

A KISSINGER DECISION TO MEET SMITH IS CERTAIN TO REBOUND IN AFRICA AND PERHAPS ALSO IN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

IN KISSINGER'S PRELIMINARY ROUNDS OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY THIS WEEK IN BLACK AFRICA HE WAS PUBLICLY WARNED BY TANZANIA'S PRESIDENT NYERERE, THE MOST INFLUENTIAL BLACK PRESIDENT, THAT AFRICA'S BLACKS LOOK WITH GREAT SUSPICION ON KISSINGER'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH VORSTER.

THERE IS NO EXPECTATION THAT SMITH IN A FIRST MEETING WITH KISSINGER, WOULD IN EFFECT SIMPLY HAND OVER HIS SWORD TO PASS ON THE RHODESIAN GUERRILLA LEADERS.

AT BEST, ANY COMPROMISE SMITH AND HIS FELLOW RHODESIAN

PAGE 03 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

WHITES ARE LIKELY TO OFFER WILL BE FAR LESS THAN BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS AND THE GUERRILLA'S DEMAND. THIS WOULD PUT KISSINGER ON THE SPOT FOR SHUTTLE BACK TO BLACK AFRICA WITH AN OFFER THAT THE MOST MILITANT LEADERS COULD CHARGE IN AN AMERICAN SELLOUT.

TONIGHT KISSINGER WAS REPORTED PREPARED TO TAKE THAT RISK IF THE TERMS ARE TEMPTING ENOUGH TO RAISE THE CHANCE FOR REACHING A COMPROMISE, EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD CAUSE HIM WHAT AN OFFICIAL SOURCE DESCRIBED AS A HELLISH FEW WEEKS OF CRITICISM EVEN IF IT PROVES NEGOTIABLE.

THE SOVIET UNION IS POISED TO WHIP UP A STORM IN AFRICA OVER WHATEVER KISSINGER PRODUCES. TASS, THE SOVIET NEWS

AGENCY HAS CHARGED THAT THE U.S. OBJECTIVE IS "TO SAVE THE RACIST STATES, WHICH ARE IN THE THROES OF AN UNPRECEDENTEDLY BROAD LIBERATION MOVEMENT."

NO DETAILS WERE AVAILABLE TONIGHT ON THE EXACT PROGRESS CLAIMED FROM THE VORSTER-KISSINGER TALKS ON EITHER RHODESIA OR NAMIBIA.

BUT PUTTING THE NAMIBIAN CRISIS ONTO A DIPLOMATIC PATH, AMERICAN SOURCES SAID, CONTINUES TO APPEAR TO BE LESS DIFFICULT THAN ANTICIPATED BECAUSE SOUTH AFRICA CAN MAKE MANY OF THE REQUIRED CONCESSIONS ON ITS OWN. U.S. SOURCES SAID THE APPROACH BEING EXPLORED HERE IS A FACE-SAVING PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENT THAT WOULD PERMIT THE NAMIBIAN GUERRILLA MOVEMENT KNOWN AS SWAPO (SOUTHWEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANIZATION) TO TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS TO DECIDE THE FUTURE OF THE TERRITORY.

UNTIL NOW VORSTER HAS REFUSED SWAPO'S DEMAND, BACKED BY THE BLACK AFRICAN PRESIDENTS FOR DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS WITH SWAPO. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN RECENT REPORTS OF COMPROMISES BY WHICH THE INDEPENDENCE DATE CAN BE SHORTENED BY AT LEAST A YEAR, AND A CONFERENCE TO INCLUDE SWAPO COULD MEET IN GENEVA TO BARGAIN OUT DETAILS OF ELECTIONS FOR NAMIBIA.

SMITH AND KISSINGER CAME WITHIN A FEW MINUTES OF SEEING UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

EACH OTHER THIS MORNING. ABOUT FIFTEEN MINUTES AFTER KISSINGER FINISHED HIS MORNING MEETING WITH VORSTER, SMITH ARRIVED AT THE PM'S RESIDENCE WHERE HE IS VORSTER'S HOUSE GUEST THIS WEEKEND.

WITH SMITH HERE ARE KEY MEMBERS OF THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING( NAMED (6)).

VORSTER AND THE SMITH PARTY BOTH ATTENDED THE RUGBY TEST MATCH.

THE GREATER TEST MATCH WAS TAKING THE PLACE IN RELAYS AT VORSTER'S RESIDENCE BEFORE AND AFTER THE RUGBY CONTEST, WITH VORSTER MEETING WITH KISSINGER, THEN WITH SMITH, AND BACK TO KISSINGER THROUGH THE DAY AND EVENING.

IN A MORNING MEETING WITH U.S. EMBASSY EMPLOYEES, KISSINGER SAID. "WE HOPE THAT PROGRESS IS BEING MADE ON SUBJECTS THAT HAVE A LONG LEGACY AND ARE EXTREMELY PAINFUL TO DEAL WITH FOR PARTIES. I HOPE WE CAN FEEL A STEP FORWARD HAS BEEN TAKEN."

"WAR BETWEEN THE RACES" IN AFRICA, KISSINGER SAID, "IF IT

ONCE STARTED" IN OPEN-ENDED FORM. "WOULD HAVE THE PROFOUND-  
EST IMPLICATIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL STABILITY ON A GLOBAL  
SCALE." HE SAID "SOUTH AFRICA EITHER HOLDS THE KEY OR CAN  
MAKE A DECISIVE CONTRIBUTION."

KISSINGER ALSO USED THIS OCCASION TO RECORD, BUT MORE  
GENTLY THAN HE HAS IN THE U.S., THE AMERICAN STAND AGAINST  
SOUTH AFRICA'S OWN RACIAL APARTHEID SYSTEM.

"WE HAVE HAD OCCASION," KISSINGER SAID, "TO SAY THAT AS  
FAR AS THE U.S. IS CONCERNED, THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN DIGNITY  
MUST HAVE UNIVERSAL APPLICATION. WE CANNOT AGREE WITH  
ANY CONCEPT THAT IS BASED ON THE SEPARATION OF RACES."

2. NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1976  
- - "PROGRESS REPORTED IN KISSINGER TALKS WITH SOUTH  
AFRICAN" (BERNARD GWERTZMAN FROM PRETORIA)

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 05 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER WAS REPORTED TONIGHT  
TO HAVE MADE FURTHER PROGRESS IN HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH PM  
VORSTER OF SOUTH AFRICA ON BOTH THE KEY ISSUES OF INDEPEN-  
DENCE FOR SOUTH-WEST AFRICA AND TRANSITION TO BLACK  
MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA.

REPORTERS WERE TOLD TONIGHT THAT MR. KISSINGER, WHO HAD  
EARLIER REJECTED A MEETING WITH IAN D. SMITH, HEAD OF THE  
WHITE MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN RHODESIA, MIGHT DECIDE TO SEE  
HIM IN PRETORIA TOMORROW.

MR. VORSTER RELAYED TO MR. KISSINGER TONIGHT MR. SMITH'S  
LATEST POSITION ON MAJORITY RULE FOR RHODESIAN BLACKS.  
BASED ON THIS INFORMATION, MR. KISSINGER PLANNED TO DECIDE  
WHETHER TO SEE MR. SMITH.

NO DETAILS OF WHAT CONSTITUTED THE REPORTED PROGRESS WERE  
DIVULGED TO REPORTERS. THEREFORE IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE FOR  
THEM TO GUAGE HOW FAR MR. KISSINGER HAD BROUGHT THE  
VARIOUS PARTIES CLOSE TO AGREEMENT.

THE SECRETARY HAS SAID THAT HE WOULD NOT MEET MR. SMITH

UNLESS HE HAD ADVANCE ASSURANCES THAT SUCH A SESSION WOULD  
PRODUCE SIGNIFICANT CONCESSIONS THAT WOULD BE WELCOMED BY

BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS. MR. KISSINGER HAS ALSO SAID THAT  
HE WAS AWARE THAT IF SUCH A MEETING WITH MR. SMITH FAILED  
TO PRODUCE SUCH RESULTS, THE U.S. COULD BE ACCUSED BY BLACK  
AFRICANS OF CONSORTING WITH THERHODESIAN WHITES RATHER  
THAN WORKING TO REPLACE THEM.

MR. KISSINGER SPENT MUCH OF THE AFTERNOON CONSULTING WITH NONWHITE SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS WHO URGED HIM TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO END THEIR COUNTRY'S POLICY OF RACIAL SEPARATION BEFORE TIME RAN OUT FOR PEACEFUL EXCHANGE AND VIOLENCE ENGULFED THEIR NATION.

ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH-WEST AFRICA, ALSO KNOWN AS NAMIBIA,  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 06     STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

MR. KISSINGER REPORTEDLY MADE THE PROGRESS HE HAD EXPECTED ON TECHNICAL DETAILS.

MR. KISSINGER, WHO ARRIVED HERE YESTERDAY AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH BLACK LEADERS OF TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA, WILL RETURN TO THOSE TWO NATIONS ON MONDAY TO PASS ON THE RESULTS OF THE VORSTER-SMITH TALKS.

IN THE MEETING WITH ELEVEN BLACK LEADERS AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY, MR. KISSINGER THANKED THEM FOR THEIR VIEWS AND PROMISED TO CONSIDER WHAT THE U.S. COULD DO WHEN HE RETURNED TO WASHINGTON.

EARLIER IN THE DAY, WHEN HE ADDRESSED 150 EMBASSY EMPLOYEES, INCLUDING ABOUT 30 BLACKS, MR. KISSINGER REPEATED HIS CRITICISM OF SOUTH AFRICA'S APARTHEID POLICY, BUT LESS HARSHLY THEN HE HAS DONE IN THE U.S. MR. KISSINGER CLEARLY WANTED TO AVOID A PUBLIC RIFT WITH HIS HOST, PM VORSTER, DURING DELICATE NEGOTIATIONS.

MR. KISSINGER, AWARE THAT THE FIRST VISIT BY A HIGH-LEVEL U.S. OFFICIAL TO SOUTH AFRICA RAN THE RISK OF APPEARING TO DIGNIFY THE APARTHEID POLICY, SPENT MOST OF THE DAY TRYING TO SEND DIPLOMATIC SIGNALS OF AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY WITHOUT CREATING A DISPUTE WITH MR. VORSTER, WHO HAS REPEATED HIS GOVERNMENT'S COMMITMENT TO APARTHEID IN RECENT DAYS.

MR. VORSTER AND MR. KISSINGER CONFERRED FOR TWO HOURS THIS MORNING.

THE BLACK LEADERS INVITED TO THE MEETING WITH MR. KISSINGER

ARE ALL RECOGNIZED OFFICIALS OF TRIBES OR ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE CHOICE WAS ATTACKED BY MORE MILITANT BLACKS AS UNSATISFACTORY SINCE IT DID NOT INCLUDE THOSE IN PRISON OR OTHERS WITH RADICAL VIEWS.

BUT THE REMARKS BY THE LEADERS WHO MET WITH MR. KISSINGER WERE FAR FROM SUPPORTIVE OF THE VORSTER GOVERNMENT'S POLICY. THE MOST OUTSPOKEN WAS MANGOSUTHU G. BUTHELEZI,  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 07     STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

THE MEETING WAS CLOSED, BUT CHIEF BUTHELEZI MADE HIS REMARKS PUBLIC. HE SAID THAT MR. KISSINGER MUST ASK MR. VORSTER TO CONVENE A MULTIRACIAL CONVENTION SO THAT BLACKS AND WHITES CAN WORK TOGETHER FOR A NEW SOCIETY.

"THERE IS STILL TIME FOR YOU TO HELP BLACK LEADERS TO EXERCISE NONVIOLENT OPTIONS, AND THERE IS STILL TIME FOR A BLACK-WHITE PARTNERSHIP IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY," THE CHIEF SAID.

"THERE IS, HOWEVER, SO LITTLE TIME LEFT IN WHICH TO EMPLOY NONVIOLENT MEANS TO EFFECT A MULTIRACIAL SOLUTION, AND THERE IS SO LITTLE TO ENCOURAGE ONE TO CONTINUE IN NONVIOLENT METHODS THAT FOR ALL PRACTICAL

PURPOSES TIME HAS RUN OUT FOR SOUTH AFRICA," HE ADDED.

THE ZULU CHIEF SAID THAT "AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHICH DOES NOT DRAMATICALLY STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF THOSE OF US WHO HAVE SO FAR ADOPTED THE NONVIOLENT OPTION COULD ASSIST TO RING DOWN THE CURTAINS ON THAT OPTION."

SONNY LEON, A LABOR LEADER OF COLOREDS, OR THOSE OF MIXED RACE, SAID AFTER THE MEETING WITH MR. KISSINGER THAT "EVERYONE THOUGHT IT WAS WORTHWHILE."

HE SAID THAT MR. KISSINGER HAD DONE LITTLE SPEAKING AS THEY SAT IN A CIRCLE IN THE EMBASSY'S LIVING ROOM AND AS WINSTON LORD TOOK NOTES.

MR. LEON SAID THAT MR. KISSINGER HAD ASKED WHO FAVORED THE GOVERNMENT'S HOMELANDS POLICY OF SETTING UP INDEPENDENT BLACK STATES, THE FIRST OF WHICH IS TO BE CREATED NEXT MONTH AND CALLED TRANSKEI.

3. CHICAGO TRIBUNE (JOHN MACLEAN FROM PRETORIA)  
(EARLY SUNDAY EDITION)

SECSTATE HENRY KISSINGER CONTINUED TALKS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS SATURDAY, INCLUDING PRIVATE MEETINGS  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 08     STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

WITH BLACK LEADERS, AS RHODESIAN PM IAN SMITH FLEW INTO THE CITY WITH THE HOPE OF MEETING KISSINGER.

SMITH REPORTEDLY WAS READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A MEETING WITH HAK.

SOURCES SAID SMITH WOULD OFFER TO BRING BLACKS INTO CABINET POSITIONS IN HIS GOVERNMENT, AND EVEN TO STEP DOWN

HIMSELF. BUT, SOURCES SAID, HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO CONCEDE THE VITAL MATTER OF A TIMETABLE FOR HANDING OVER THE REINS OF GOVT TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE.

AMERICAN OFFICIALS CONTINUED TO HOLD A HAK-SMITH MEETING AS BAIT FOR SMITH, RELAXING THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH IT MIGHT OCCUR. BUT THEY ALSO SAID HAK WILL NOT NEGOTIATE WITH SMITH.

A SENIOR OFFICIAL WITH HAK SAID THE PROSPECT OF IMMINENT PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT TO TRIGGER A MEETING.

DOMESTICALLY, SUCH A MEETING WOULD SERVE HAK WELL. HE CAN HARDLY CALL FOR EXTREME PRESSURE ON RHODESIA TO BRING ABOUT BLACK MAJORITY RULE UNLESS HE TALKS TO SMITH. AMERICAN CONSERVATIVES -- AND SMITH -- COULD CHARGE THAT SINCE HE TALKED TO THE CHINESE AND VIETNAMESE, WHY NOT THE RHODESIANS?

THE BLACK AND WHITE-LIBERAL VOTES LOST TO PRES FORD IF PHOTOS OF SMITH AND HAK FLOODED AMERICAN NEWS MEDIA WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST ANYWAY, IT COULD BE ARGUED.

HAK, IN EFFECT, RECEIVED PERMISSION FOR A MEETING WITH SMITH FROM BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS IN TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA BEFORE COMING HERE.

BUT, A SENIOR AMERICAN OFFICIAL SAID SUCH A MEETING WOULD BE AN INDICATION OF REAL PROGRESS -- PROGRESS THAT HAS NOT BEEN MADE BETWEEN RHODESIAN BLACKS AND WHITES SINCE THAT COUNTRY BROKE AWAY FROM BRITAIN IN 1965.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 09 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

HAK TOLD A MEETING OF AMERICAN EMBASSY PERSONNEL SAT THAT THE US CANNOT AGREE WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S RACE POLICIES.

(QUOTATIONS)

HIS REMARKS, ALTHOUGH ADDRESSED TO EMBASSY PERSONNEL, WILL HAVE AN IMPACT HERE. ABOUT 150 PERSONS, INCLUDING BOTH BLACK AND WHITE SOUTH AFRICANS EMPLOYED BY THE EMBASSY, GATHERED IN A MEETING ROOM AT HAK'S HOTEL TO HEAR HIS REMARKS.

HAK SPENT SAT AFTERNOON IN THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE SEEING NONGOVERNMENTAL LEADERS OF BLACK AND MIXED RACE ORIGINS, AS WELL AS WHITES.

HAK HAS NOT CONCERNED HIMSELF ON THIS SHUTTLE WITH THE PROBLEM OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE HAS FOCUSED

ON THE ISSUE OF INDEPENDENCE FOR S-W AFRICA AND ON RHODESIA.

HAK EXPECTS TO LEAVE PRETORIA MONDAY. HE PLANS TO RETURN TO ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA TO REPORT TO BLACK LEADERS THERE ON HIS TALKS WITH VORSTER.

4. HEARST

BALTIMORE HEARST PAPER SUNDAY CARRIED UPI STORY.

WIRES

1. REUTERS (NO BYLINE, FROM PRETORIA)

SECSTATE HENRY KISSINGER HELD TALKS WITH RHODESIAN PM SMITH TODAY IN A MEETING THAT RAISED HOPES OF A SETTLEMENT OF RHODESIA'S CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS.

THE MEETING AT THE RESIDENCE OF US AMBASSADOR STARTED AT 9:30 AM LOCAL AND WAS STILL GOING ON TWO HOURS LATER.

SENIOR US OFFICIALS HAD SAID EARLIER THAT HAK'S AGREEMENT TO MEET MR SMITH COULD BE TAKEN AS A SIGN THAT A BREAK-UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 10 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

THROUGH WAS IMMINENT IN THE RHODESIAN DISPUTE.

2. WASHINGTON STAR FRONT PAGE ARTICLE WAS DATELINED PRETORIA, PROBABLY COMPILED FROM WIRE SERVICES, AND CONTAINED FOLLOWING:

EARLIER YESTERDAY, HAK WAS REPORTED TO HAVE SENT SMITH A VIRTUAL ULTIMATUM TO AGREE TO TRANSFER POWER TO THE BLACK MAJORITY IN HIS COUNTRY WITHIN A SPECIFIED TIME, PROBABLY TWO YEARS, OR FACE EVENTUAL RACE WAS ALONE.

A SENIOR US OFFICIAL SAID THEN THAT SOME PROGRESS HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD SETTLING RHODESIA'S DISPUTED FUTURE. DETAILS WERE NOT GIVEN BUT THE OFFICIAL SAID HAK WAS KEEPING IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH PRES FORD.

HAK COMMUNICATED WITH SMITH THROUGH VORSTER, WHO MET HAK AT PRETORIA, HELD BLUNT TALKS WITH SMITH AT NEARBY JOHANNESBURG, THEN DINED WITH HAK BACK IN PRETORIA.

US OFFICIALS SAID HAK HAD SENT WORD TO VORSTER THAT HE MUST HAVE A REPLY FROM THE RHODESIAN LEADER THIS WEEKEND, BEFORE HAK LEAVES SOUTH AFRICA FOR ANOTHER ROUND OF TALKS WITH LEADERS OF BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES.

NEWSMEN ACCOMPANYING HAK ALSO WERE TOLD THE SECSTATE



AND VORSTER HAD NARROWED THE GAP DIVIDING THE PRETORIA GOVT AND BLACK LEADERS OVER TRANSFORMING NAMIBIA INTO AN INDEPENDENT COUNTRY.

HAK CONFRONTED SMITH WITH ALL THE ELEMENTS OF AN ULTIMATUM. AS US OFFICIALS OUTLINED THE SITUATION THIS IS WHAT HAPPENED:

HAK TOLD SMITH THROUGH VORSTER THAT RHODESIA'S 270,000 WHITES MUST AGREE TO YIELD POWER TO THE 6 MILLION BLACKS, PREFERABLY BY 1978. IF THE RHODESIAN WHITES REFUSE THEY WOULD BE ON THEIR OWN TO FACE ALL THE IMPLICATIONS OF AN ESCALATING WAR MOUNTED BY BLACK GUERRILLAS.

HAK INSISTED, THE US OFFICIALS SAID, THAT HE MUST HAVE SMITH'S RESPONSE THIS WEEKEND -- AND THERE WAS NO QUESTION UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 11 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

OF NEGOTIATING OR ARGUING ABOUT POINTS OR DETAILS. THUS THE US DEMAND, THE US WARNING OF WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF THE DEMAND IS NOT MET AND THE US TIME LIMIT ALL ADDED UP TO WHAT DIPLOMATS REGARD AS AN ULTIMATUM EVEN THOUGH THEY USUALLY AVOIDED USING THAT WORD.

HAK TOLD VORSTER THAT HE WOULD NOT MEET WITH SMITH UNLESS THEIR TALK WOULD BE "THE FINAL ELEMENT IN REACHING A SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION" TO THE RHODESIAN DISPUTE.

"I WILL SEE HIM IF IT HELPS MOVE MATTERS TO A CONCLUSION AND ONLY IF SOME CLEAR RESULT IS LIKELY," HAK SAID.

THE OFFICIALS SAID IT WAS POSSIBLE THE SESSION COULD LEAD TO A FINAL, CONCLUSIVE SECOND ROUND OF TALKS LATER NEXT WEEK -- A DEVELOPMENT THAT WOULD REQUIRE THE SEC TO RETURN TO PRETORIA FROM SCHEDULED SECOND VISITS TO ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA. HAK IS ALSO SET TO STOP IN ZAIRE AND KENYA BEFORE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON VIA LONDON.

3. EARLIER REUTERS, ANNOUNCING HAK-SMITH MEETING, INCLUDED:

DR KISSINGER SET UP THE MEETING WITH MR SMITH AMID INDICATIONS THAT THE US HAD SUBSTANTIALLY SOFTENED ITS ORIGINAL CONDITIONS FOR SUCH TALKS.

IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM REPORTERS TRAVELLING WITH DR KISSINGER, A SENIOR US OFFICIAL SAID THE US MIGHT ASK BRITAIN TO ALTER A PLAN CALLING FOR A TRANSFER OF POWER TO RHODESIA'S BLACKS WITHIN TWO YEARS.

HAK HAD PREVIOUSLY INSISTED THAT HE WOULD NOT TALK TO SMITH UNLESS THE TWO-YEAR PLAN WAS ACCEPTED IN ADVANCE.

HAK IS AWARE THAT HE RISKS RAISING SMITH'S INTERNATIONAL STATURE BY AGREEING TO MEET HIM WITH NO CERTAINTY THAT A RHODESIAN SOLUTION WILL BE ACHIEVED.

HE IS WILLING TO ACCEPT THAT RISK AND ANY BLAME HE MAY BE GIVEN BY BLACK AFRICAN LEADERS, US OFFICIALS SAID.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 12     STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

RADIO-TV

1. CBS (EVENING NEWS, SATURDAY SEPT 18) (LEAD STORY)

DAN RATHER: SECSTATE KISSINGER, TRYING TO HEAD OFF RACE WAR IN AFRICA, WILL HOLD AN UNPRECEDENTED MEETING TOMORROW WITH RHODESIAN PM IAN SMITH. SMITH HAS VOWED NOT TO SURRENDER WHITE RULE IN HIS COUNTRY. HAK HAS, IN RECENT DAYS, SAID THAT HE WOULD MEET WITH SMITH ONLY IF THERE WAS A NINETYPERCENT CHANCE AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED ON TRANSFERRING RULING POWER WITHIN TWO YEARS FROM RHODESIA'S 275,000 WHITES TO THE MORE THAN 6,000,000 BLACKS. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHAT CONDITIONS KISSINGER FINALLY SET FOR THE MEETING WITH SMITH THAT WILL BE HELD TOMORROW IN PRETORIA.

BERNARD KALB: HAK AND VORSTER MET THIS MORNING AND AGAIN TONIGHT, FOR DISCUSSIONS THAT COULD DETERMINE THE FATE OF THE HAK SHUTTLE ON THE QUESTION OF RHODESIA. HAK BELIEVES SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. THE QUESTION IS WHETHER IT'S ENOUGH. THE ULTIMATE RHODESIAN CAPITULATION TOWARD BLACK MAJORITY RULE MUST BE MADE BY RHODESIA'S PM SMITH. HE ARRIVED HERE TODAY FOR CRITICAL TALKS WITH VORSTER PRIOR TO THEIR BOTH ATTENDING A RUGBY MATCH. THE DAY ALSO SAW HAK MAKE SYMBOLIC GESTURES TO REGISTER US OPPOSITION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY OF APARTHEID, OR SEPARATION OF THE RACES. HE SPOKE BEFORE US EMBASSY EMPLOYEES.

KISSINGER: AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED, THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN DIGNITY MUST HAVE UNIVERSAL APPLICATION, AND WE THEREFORE CANNOT AGREE, AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED, WITH ANY CONCEPT THAT IS BASED ON SEPARATION OF THE RACES.

KALB: HAK ALSO MET WITH A GROUP OF PROMINENT BLACK AND SO-CALLED COLORED LEADERS. THOUGH SOME OF THE GUESTS ARE REGARDED BY OTHER BLACKS AS ESTABLISHMENT BLACKS, THEY ARE OUTSPOKENLY CRITICAL OF THIS COUNTRY'S RACIAL.  
UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 13     STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

WHAT HAK HAD IN MIND BY MEETING WITH BLACK LEADERS WAS

TO MAKE A SYMBOLIC PROTEST AGAINST APARTHEID. BUT HIS BLACK GUESTS TURNED HIS SYMBOL INTO THEIR CHALLENGE BY CALLING ON HAK TO USE US INFLUENCE TO HELP CREATE A BLACK-WHITE PARTNERSHIP IN RECONSTRUCTING SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY.

2. NBC (EVENING NEWS, SATURDAY SEPT 18)

JOHN HART: FOR TWO DAYS NOW, HAK AND JOHN VORSTER, PM OF SOUTH AFRICA, HAVE BEEN TALKING ABOUT HOW TO KEEP A RACE WAR FROM STARTING IN THREE COUNTRIES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND WHEN THEY FINISHED TODAY, HAK SAID A STEP FORWARD HAS BEEN TAKEN. NBC'S RICHARD VALERIANI IS WITH HAK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

VALERIANI: HAK WENT INTO THIS MORNING'S MEETING WITH VORSTER WITH A NUMBER OF SUGGESTIONS ABOUT WHAT HE THOUGHT SHOULD BE DONE NEXT TO KEEP THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS MOVING FORWARD. AMERICAN OFFICIALS SAID HAK FELT THAT ENOUGH PROGRESS WAS MADE IN A FOLLOW-UP MEETING TONIGHT AND HE HAD DECIDED TO CONFER PERSONALLY WITH RHODESIAN PM SMITH TOMORROW, HAK APPARENTLY SCALED DOWN CONSIDERABLY HIS PRECONDITIONS FOR SEEING THE RHODESIAN LEADER.

SMITH WAS IN PRETORIA, OSTENSIBLY TO ATTEND A RUGBY MATCH, BUT BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE MATCH, HE CONFERRED WITH VORSTER, WHO WAS ACTING AS AN INTERMEDIARY BETWEEN THE AMERICANS AND THE RHODESIANS. EARLIER THIS WEEK, WORDS OF CAUTION ABOUT A HAK-SMITH MEETING CAME FROM A MAN WHO HAS DEALT WITH THE RHODESIAN, ZAMBIAN PRES KENNETH KAUNDA.

KAUNDA: ... AND WHAT DR KISSINGER IS MEETING IAN SMITH FOR. IF YOU ARE NOT CAREFUL (UNINTELL). HE IS A VERY SLIPPERY CHARACTER, AS WE KNOW.

VALERIANI: AMERICAN CREDIBILITY IN BLACK AFRICA, WHICH HAK HAS WORKED SO HARD TO RESTORE, COULD BE SHATTERED IF A MEETING WITH SMITH DID NOT PRODUCE THE MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH HAS BEEN TALKING ABOUT.

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 14 STATE 232516 TOSEC 270383

HAK COULD NOT REALLY AVOID COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF ON THIS MISSION. BUT WHILE HE WAS HERE, HE WANTED TO MAKE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT HIS PRESENCE IN NO WAY MEANT THAT THE US WAS SOFTENING ITS OPPOSITION TO SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES. ONE WAY HE DID IT WAS TO SAY IN A SPEECH TO AMERICAN EMBASSY EMPLOYEES HERE THAT THE US CANNOT AGREE WITH ANY CONCEPT THAT IS BASED ON THE SEPARATION OF THE RACES, AND THEN HE DRAMATIZED HIS WORDS BY MEETING AT THE AMERICAN EMBASSY RESIDENCE WITH SEVERAL BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN LEADERS. THEY URGED HIM TO USE HIS INFLUENCE TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN

SOUTH AFRICA'S RACIAL POLICIES.

ROBINSON

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 16 SEP 1999  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, TOSEC  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 19 SEP 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** n/a  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** n/a  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:**  
**Disposition Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STATE232516  
**Document Source:** ADS  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** S/PRS;JORDWAY:LM  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
**Film Number:** D760354-0707  
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**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Office:** ORIGIN PRS  
**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 11  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
**Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** vandyklc  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 12 FEB 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <12 FEB 2004 by MaustMC>; APPROVED <26 AUG 2004 by vandyklc>  
**Review Markings:**

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EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
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**TAGS:** SOPN, OVIP, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006